1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. 583 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; [581] he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional [591] period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of [836] occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 581 183 762 208 [177] However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 [302] [841] Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier [114] remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [506] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562